

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XVII. No. 9.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1810.

[Price 1s.

There is a *sinecure place*, which is, at present, held by the EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE (late Lord Hobart), which place is worth £.11,094, or, in words, *eleven thousand and ninety-four pounds*, a year. The reversion of this enormous salary, that is to say, the possession of it *after the present possessor's death*, has been obtained and secured by LORD HARDWICKE, not only for himself during his life, but, beyond that, *for the lives of his two sons*; and, this Lord Hardwicke is, as the reader will recollect, a brother of MR. CHARLES YORKE.

MR. CHARLES YORKE, of whom the public has, within the last twelve months, heard so much; that Mr. Charles Yorke, who, upon Mr. Wardle's opening of the Charges against our late Chieftain, solemnly declared his belief that there was a Jacobinical Conspiracy on foot against the illustrious House of Brunswick; that Mr. Charles Yorke, who, from the moment the Walcheren Inquiry began, moved the Standing Order for shutting the Debate Reporters out of the Gallery; that Mr. Charles Yorke, who, when a motion was made for Inquiry, which motion was opposed by the minister, declared that he thought it his duty to stand by the minister, because the minister had resolved to stand by the king; aye, that very Mr. Charles Yorke, *has*, within this week, received through the hands of that same minister, a grant, for life, of a *sinecure place*, (or place where nothing is to be done) called a Tellership of the Exchequer, worth £.2,700 a year; that is to say, he has thus secured, for his whole lifetime, *two thousand seven hundred pounds a year* to be paid to him out of the taxes, raised upon the people of England.

321]

[322

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. YORKE.—My motto speaks so plainly, and says so nearly all that is necessary to be said about this man and his sinecure, that I can hardly bring myself to say another word upon the subject, though I shall certainly, I think, repeat the motto eight or nine times a year as long as I have the means of repeating it at all.—

On the 26th of last month some notice was taken of this sinecure, in the House of Commons. In debating about the pension of two thousand a year for Baron Douro, Sir JOHN NEWPORT said that in consequence of the late melancholy fate of a much respected and justly-valued friend, an occasion had presented itself to ministers *amply to remunerate the services of Lord Wellington*, without making any addition to the public burthens (*Hear! hear!*). No sooner, however, had the lamented fate of his regretted friend (Mr. Eden) been ascertained, than the Tellership of the Exchequer was conferred upon a person, of whose services Ministers might have had such an opinion as to think that if he fought no battles abroad, *he had at least fought some at home*. He thought that the Bill should not be now pressed, if it was only in common respect to the Petition of so respectable a body as the Corporation of the City of London—a Petition that put the question in the clearest and simplest point of view. He admitted the gallantry of Lord Wellington, but though this a question not involving merely the

“consideration of his merits. He regretted that the unquestioned and unquestionable merits of a lamented officer had not been more attended to. He thought that the *glorious services* of the *immortal Hero of Corunna* had not yet been answered by the public gratitude as they ought to have been.”—I cannot let this go, without expressing my dissent to all of it, except that passage, which contains a disapproval of giving the sinecure to Mr. Yorke. In that respect I perfectly agree with Sir John Newport; but, in no other part of his speech. I would not have given Baron Douro and Viscount Talavera a sixpence a year; and, of course, I would not have given him 2,700*l.* under the name of a Teller of the Exchequer. It is my opinion, for reasons repeatedly given, that he deserves no money at all out of our taxes; nay, no more than Mr. Yorke does; and, why, if that be the case, should he have any of it? I agree with the Citizens of London; that the grant of a pension to him at all is a waste, a pure waste, of the public money; and, so thinking, I, of course, should have objected to the giving of the sinecure to him, for, in both cases, the money comes out of the public purse.—Nor do I concur in Sir John Newport's opinion relative to Sir John Moore's campaign. I know of no “*glorious services*” that Sir John Moore ever performed; and I do think, that it is a monstrous exaggeration to call him an “*immortal hero*.” He was penned up at Corunna, and fought for his life and li-

L

berly. It was not a battle of his choice. He would, and he *ought*, to have escaped without fighting, if he could. That he was *blameless* is not, after all, quite clear to me, nor, I believe, to any unprejudiced man; but, if we acquit him of blame, let us not trumpet him forth as meriting the *highest of praise*.—I have observed, in several of the speeches of members on the same side with Sir John Newport, endeavours, as they appear to me, to prepare the way for some *pension, or grant of some sort*, to the *relations* of Sir John Moore. And, for *what*, I should be glad to know? Never, until these days, was such a proposition, in such a case, made or thought of. It really would seem, that the two sides of the House are like the man and his wife in the fable, who, purely for the sake of mortifying one another, gave away the whole of their dinner to a set of beggars, there being, however, this distinctive circumstance to notice; namely; that the man and wife gave away *what belonged to themselves*.—Each side must have its *heroes*. To hear the debates and the thanks and the messages, one would really be tempted to suppose, that our armies had just returned from the conquest of the world; and, surely, no human being would imagine that, while all this high-flown language is in use, we are seriously considering, *how* we shall be able to defend even our own fire-sides against the attacks of an enemy whom our forefathers held in contempt.—Mr. HENRY MARTIN said upon the same occasion, “that the very important and “pressing observation made by the Right “Hon. Baronet, on the filling up the vacancy of the Tellership of the Exchequer, had not been thought *worthy of “some reply* from any of his Majesty’s Ministers. He felt satisfied, that if Ministers had advised his Majesty to confer “that place upon Lord Wellington, *there “was not a man in that House who would “have questioned the propriety of the appointment*. With respect to the Gentleman “upon whom that appointment had fallen, “he believed that his services in behalf “of the public were yet to be made known.”—Now, in saying, that there was not a man in the House, who would have questioned the propriety for giving 2,700*l.* a year, for life, to Viscount Talavera de la Reyna, I have not the smallest doubt, that Mr. Martin was mistaken; and, indeed, I know he was.—It is very true, that “the services of Mr. Yorke, in behalf of

“the public, are yet to be made known;” but, what services, in behalf of the public, had Mr. Yorke’s predecessor ever performed? “Reply!” What difficulty will the minister have in making a reply to any observations, made upon the bestowing of this fat place? What reply is necessary to any one, who is for keeping up the sinecure system? Mr. Perceval has more than sufficient materials for a reply, at any time when he has a mind to make it. To those, indeed, who hold, that this dreadful system of sinecures ought to be abolished: to such persons he would find it difficult to answer, except in some form of legal or parliamentary proceeding; but, to those who are for maintaining the system of sinecures, he has only to tell them, that they have done the like, and would, if they could, do the like again; for the truth of which assertion the whole nation would give him credit.

ARMY ESTIMATES.—Mr. Wardle,—Mr. Huskisson,—*Foreign Troops* and Lord Mahon.—The reader will not have forgotten, that, at the close of the last session of parliament, Mr. WARDLE, being thereunto urged by Messrs. Tierney and Huskisson, brought forward a detail of the *savings*, which, he asserted, might be made. The general answer to his statement was, that it was easy enough to save money by *disbanding soldiers and putting down establishments*, and *taking away pensions and places*; but that none of these ought to take place, and, of course, that the plan of savings was all moonshine. Mr. Huskisson was the official answerer, and though I have not his speech now before me, I am almost certain, that (albeit not of the liveliest turn) he did actually attempt to crack something like jokes at the idea of saving money in war time by *the reducing of military corps*. He attempted to turn this into ridicule; and, indeed, there was no part of Mr. Wardle’s statement; none of his propositions; none of his sentiments, of which he did not express his disapprobation; but the main burden of his ridicule was, the proposition of Mr. Wardle to *reduce part of our force during war*.—Well, what has happened now? Why, the Secretary at War has come forward with an Estimate, in which some, at least, of Mr. Wardle’s propositions have been adopted. Mr. Wardle proposed to reduce the *Household troops*, the *dragoon guards*, and *dragoons*, so as to produce a saving of 413,000*l.* a year. He also

stated that the *Waggon Train* ought to be reduced. He mentioned the *Manx Fencibles*. But, I must not leave this matter to be doubted about. I must insert his list of proposed savings, from his speech, as it was afterwards correctly printed. That list was as follows :

RECAPITULATION OF SAVINGS ON

Household troops, two regiments	£.73,317	0	0
Dragon guards, dragoons, and light ditto	340,000	0	0
Foreign corps	1,005,017	0	0
Subsidy annually paid Count Meuron for continuing his regiment in his Majesty's service	3,000	0	0
Militia of the United Kingdom	300,000	0	0
Staff of fifteen small Militia corps reduced	10,000	0	0
Local Militia	700,000	0	0
Volunteers of the United Kingdom	1,000,000	0	0
Royal Waggon Train	48,993	0	0
Manx Fencibles	24,184	0	0
Staff of the Army	200,000	0	0
Recruiting Staff, Levies and Bounties	200,000	0	0
Army Agency	51,075	0	0
War Office	24,000	0	0
Pay Office	24,000	0	0
Contract horses	299,083	0	0
Fortifications and repairs at home	500,000	0	0
Medical department and annual loss of men	200,000	0	0
Commissariat	500,000	0	0
Barracks	350,000	0	0
Army clothing	270,000	0	0
On the collection of the revenue in Great Britain	1,051,930	0	0
On ditto ditto in Ireland	388,367	0	0
Commissioners and Auditors of Public Accounts	70,000	0	0
Bank, the sum charged for the Management of the National Debt	210,594	0	0
Pensions and Offices executed by deputy	200,000	0	0
Bounties	150,000	0	0
Colonies	500,000	0	0
Catholic Emancipation	2,000,000	0	0
	£.10,693,563	0	0

Expenditure of the navy for the year ending Jan. 5, 1809, 17,467,892*l.* one third of which is..... 5,822,630 13 4

Total Savings £.16,516,193 13 4

Now, reader, it is hardly necessary to remind you how Mr. Wardle was abused for this; what a noise the partizans of the ministers made, about the answer of Mr. Huskisson, who, not only denied that any such savings could be made, but who ridiculed, or attempted to ridicule, the idea of saving money by reducing the military force in time of war. The following extract from the speech of Lord Palmerston, now Secre-

tary at War, on the 26th of February, will shew, not that any real saving is about to take place (against any belief of which the reader will do well to guard himself) but, that enough is to be done to convince us that Mr. Wardle's propositions were not ridiculous, and that his and our adversaries think it good policy to do something, with a view of "stopping his mouth" a little. —There was, he said, "a reduction in consequence of the abolition of the agency of cavalry men. The next article was that of the Cavalry. Here there was a reduction caused by the dismounting of twenty men in each troop. Under the head of Household Troops there was a decrease in numbers of 720 men, and in expence of 41,249*l.* Under the head of Dragoon and Dragoon Guards, there was a decrease in numbers of 486 men, and in expence of 262,230*l.* This great saving was owing to an arrangement by which Troop Quarter-masters were discontinued, and Serjeant-majors substituted in their place. Under the head of the unnumbered corps, there was a decrease in numbers of 1,237 men, and an expence of 49,721*l.* Under the head of Garrison Battalions, there was a reduction of two Battalions, and a saving of 39,317*l.* Under the head of the Royal Waggon Train, which consisted originally of 12 troops, it would be found that five of those twelve had been discontinued; for, however useful in foreign service, the establishment was thought to be unnecessarily large while remaining at home; under this head, of the Royal Waggon Train, there would be found to be a saving of 23,433*l.* The next head was that of the Barrack Artificers at Gibraltar, but that was not in this year's items. Under the head of Manx Fencibles, there was a reduction of 347 men. Under these two last heads would be found a saving in the one of 13,854*l.* and in the other of 4,473*l.*" —The reader will take care not to suppose, that any saving will, upon the whole, take place; for, there is an increase in the German Army to a very considerable amount, which army goes on regularly and quietly increasing every year and all the year long. The spring from which it is fed, appears to be perennial. But, for more particulars about this army, I must refer the reader to Mr. Wardle's Speech, a short report of which (copied from the Statesman) will be found below. —This statement of Lord Pal-

merston is, however, nothing, compared to *Mr. Huskisson's recantation*, which is the most curious thing that has happened for a long time. It would seem, that a new sort of language, an entirely *new tone*, is now to be adopted, in speaking of the public resources and expenditure. It would seem, that it is no longer thought prudent to laugh in our faces, when we cry out against adding to the weight of our already intolerable burdens.—Now let us hear Mr. Huskisson. As containing his opinions, the speech is nothing. Straws are of little consequence in themselves; but, they serve to shew which way the wind or the current is setting.—You will hardly believe your eyes, reader; but, it is Mr. Huskisson's speech that is now before you.—“Mr. HUSKISSON felt disappointed at the Estimates now submitted to the House, every item of which ought to have been fixed with regard to the *strictest economy*. A considerable diminution in our expenditure was essential, or rather was indispensable to the safety of the country. This could only be effected by revision and retrenchment. In order to shew the necessity which called for economy, the hon. Member stated the growth of our revenue—the net proceeds of its produce was, in 1782, only ten millions; by the year 1792, notwithstanding the utmost industry of Mr. Pitt to promote retrenchment, it rose to 16 millions; and, in the year 1809, it amounted to 60 millions. Thus, in the course of 27 years, our revenue had advanced no less than six-fold. With this statement before the Committee, he was sure, that every Gentleman must be satisfied of the propriety of devising every possible means to reduce our expenditure. It was obvious, that there must be a limit to taxation, and the policy of considering this subject in due time was forcibly urged by the system of the enemy, whose hostility was principally aimed at our finances. The objects and character of our enemy, indeed, rendering the restoration of peace so problematical, it peculiarly behoved us so to husband our resources as to be prepared for a long period of war. He was aware that it might be said, that this was not a time at which it was proper to dwell upon the difficulties of the country. But he differed from those who might advance that assertion. For in his opinion the wisest way was fully to ex-

bit the situation of the country, in order that adequate provision might be seasonably made to meet the dangers which menaced it. The first objects to which he wished to direct the attention of the Committee, with a view to saving, were the *Army and Navy*. In both these departments, he conceived that a considerable retrenchment might be made. Almost every head of expence appeared to him excessive. We had a much larger naval force now, than when the enemy had a naval power to encounter, and our army was larger than any immediate probable necessity called for—larger considerably than at the time when invasion was very generally expected. A reduction in the army was the more safe in his mind, as we had so numerous a body of Local Militia; and he particularly recommended a diminution of the Cavalry, the Staff, and the Waggon Train. Among many other objectionable establishments, the hon. gentleman referred to the *Manx Corps* and the *Newfoundland Fencibles*, both of which he conceived to be quite unnecessary. The great fault in our expenditure appeared to him to proceed from the want of a sufficient power of superintendence over the several departments. Blame he meant not to attribute to any individual, and least of all to his right hon. friend at the head of the Treasury. He was certain that if his right hon. friend saw a fault, no man would be more ready to correct it. But there was a radical fault in the general arrangement of expenditure, which often rendered it difficult, if not impossible, to discover those evils which could only be corrected by the establishment of the controuling power he alluded to. He might be asked, why he did not propose those retrenchments earlier? but to that he could answer, that he had frequently pointed out the same topics for the consideration of those with whom he had the honour to act while in office. Indeed, he had never ceased to press those points upon the attention of those who had the power to effect the end he had in view, and he was naturally anxious that the reform he proposed should originate with the executive power. The statement which he had now felt it his duty to submit, would, he trusted, be attributed to the real motive which urged him to stand forward; a desire to serve his country; to secure to us the means of contending against Buonaparté, who had him-



"self calculated upon living thirty years, during which there was too much reason to apprehend that he would continue the inveterate and active foe of Great Britain."—Now, reader, how many times have I urged the necessity of Economy, as the only means of enabling us to obtain any thing like a safe peace? In short do you find, in this speech of Mr. Huskisson, one new idea? He has now merely repeated what I have written and published fifty times over; and, what is, in principle as well as in detail, in direct opposition to his speech, made, last year, when he was in office.—But, is it not rather odd, that while this gentleman was insisting, that it was "proper to devise every possible means of reducing our expenditure;" is it not rather odd, that, while he was racking his mind in this way, he never happened to hit upon the following items?

Pension, yearly to WILLIAM HUSKISSON - - - - -	£1,200
Profits (<i>acknowledged</i>) to WILLIAM HUSKISSON as Colonial Agent for Ceylon - - -	700
	<hr/> £1,900

Besides a Pension to Mrs. EMILY HUSKISSON, the wife of the said William Huskisson, and the particulars of which I have not now at hand; but I believe it to be 500*l.* a year.

Now, is it not odd, that the Gentleman, who appears to have been, all of a sudden, inspired with a love of economy, did not think of *these items*? He says, that we ought to "devise all possible means of reducing our expenditure;" and, surely, it is possible to take off these items. I know nothing that Mr. Huskisson has done for the public, that he should be thus fastened upon us for life, and that his wife also should be fastened upon us. He has been, for about 12 or 14 years a clerk, and a secretary; but, has he not been well paid? He has never had less than about two thousand pounds a year, and sometimes five, or, perhaps, six or seven; for, after all, what do we know about the emoluments arising from his offices? We know, however, that his *bare salaries* have most amply paid him, not only for any services that he has rendered the public, but for any services, which he has the capacity to render the public.—LORD L. GOWER, who was Secretary at War some

months ago, joined with Mr. Huskisson upon this occasion. In the short report that is given of his speech, there are some very curious things.—"Lord G. L. Gower felt disappointed at the statement he had heard. He had trusted that the *burdens of the public*, as connected with *Army Estimates*, would have been alleviated to a *far greater degree*. He did not think the items had been looked into with a sufficiently *scrutinizing eye*. He was of opinion that the practice of buying for the cavalry, horses at two years old, by which means the expence of keeping them till they were of use, often exceeded 100*l.* ought to be done away. The *Waggon Train* too, instead of being reduced, *ought to be done away entirely*. The *Manx corps* was of no use; the officers followed other avocations, and the privates were labourers; yet they had full pay, as if they were efficient regular troops. The *City Militia*, and the *Tower Hamlets*, whose services were extremely limited, he thought were not of real utility. For the home district there were two Generals—the *Duke of Cambridge* and *Lord Heathfield*, who had 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* a year—for looking after 2,400 men. There was another Honourable General in that House who he was surprized was not *ashamed to hold his district*; and in Scotland, to 11,000 men there were *eleven Generals*. All these things, he thought, *required to be looked into*."—Well said, my Lord G. L. Gower! Just in this style did Mr. Wardle talk last year, when he was jeered at by Mr. Tierney and others, and when the ministerial newspapers called him every thing that was contemptible and wicked.—And, so, my lord, you are for lopping off the *Waggon Train*, the *Royal Waggon Train*, of which our old friend DIGBY HAMILTON, whom Mr. Perceval and Mr. Adam charged to tell Sandon to be sure not to destroy the famous Note about Tonyn; your lordship really is for lopping off, lopping completely off, our friend Digby's "*Royal Waggon Train*!" So was Mr. Wardle. And he was for lopping off the *Manx Corps*, too, which he, too, said was of "*no use*;" but for saying which he was most shamefully abused by the prints under the influence of the ministry, to which you belonged.—Yes, my lord, it is, indeed, a pretty thing that a people, weighed to the earth with taxes, should have to pay *two Generals*, at the rate of 4,000, or

5,000*l.* a year, for looking after 2,400 men. But, my lord, was not this so, *last year* as well as this year? Was not this king's son in the same situation when you and Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Canning were in office? What you say now is very good; very good indeed; but, why was not the abuse, you here complain of, reformed *while you were in office*? Or, at least, why was it not *then* stated to the House of Commons?—That the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Heathfield should swallow up 4,000, or 5,000 pounds a year, as a compensation for looking after 2,400 men, that such a thing should have been tolerated is, to be sure, enough to excite indignation in the breast of the most patient of mortals; but, still, I do not think, that those 4 or 5,000 pounds a year are so badly bestowed, so shamefully misapplied as the pensions to Mr. Huskisson and his Wife, who, *for their whole lives*, are fastened upon the purses of the people of England. There may be some hope (though a very faint one, perhaps) of our being relieved from this military payment to the Duke of Cambridge and Lord Heathfield; but, from the pensions to Mr. and Mrs. Huskisson there is no chance of relief for thirty or forty years, at the soonest.—These are the things that sting deep. Between the receivers of our money, in this way, without services rendered us or losses sustained for our sake; between such persons and those who wish for a reform of abuses, there is, there will be, and there can be, no compromise. It is in vain to expect it; and Mr. Huskisson may be assured, that we shall judge for ourselves as to the motives, which induce persons in his situation to stand forward with professions in favour of economy.—I beg the reader, however, to note well and to bear in mind, this talk about economy; so *new* in the quarter whence it comes, and so unexpected too. I have been, for years past, calling for a reduction of expence, in order that we might be enabled to continue the war, until we could obtain a safe peace; and now, all of a sudden, *Mr. Huskisson* and even *Old George Rose* say the same thing! Let not the public be deceived, however: they will find, under the *present system*, no alleviation of their taxes; but, on the contrary, will find those taxes *increase*. The *system itself* is bad. There wants a *thorough change in the system*; but, that change will never take place, it never can take place, without a

reform of the Commons' House of Parliament, and the consequent annihilation of that accursed thing, that bane of the nation, called INFLUENCE, which has been the chief, if not the only, cause, of all our calamities and disgraces, and which, if it be not destroyed, will, as sure as Mr. Huskisson has a pension, destroy the king's throne as well as the liberties of the people.—Mr. PETER MOORE reminded the new-light economists of the discountenance, which they had, last session, shown with respect to the statements of Mr. Wardle; and, after a few words of little consequence from Mr. Perceval, Mr. WARDLE himself rose, and, in a speech of some length, of which I here insert the best report I can find, clearly showed the House, that all the base means, which have been resorted to for the purpose of silencing him, together with all the baser aid which *some* of the *outs* have given to those means, have not secured their object.—“COLONEL WARDLE observed, that, although there were many points on which he did not feel it necessary to dwell in the present discussion, he could not refrain from expressing his utter astonishment at finding, after the extraordinary coolness with which the suggestions he had the honour of making to the House last Session, on the subject of retrenchment, had been received, that the very points on which he had then touched had now been taken up by the gentlemen opposite to him. For this he thanked them most kindly, as he was sure the country would also do. And he confidently trusted, that the Committee had now shewn that sort of mind and decided spirit which would justify the country in the hope and expectation that *something* in the way of retrenchment would be done—nothing could give him greater pleasure than to see his majesty's ministers beginning to do that which was absolutely essential to the salvation—to the very existence of the country. He rejoiced extremely in the conviction apparently felt by those who, on a former occasion, had refused to listen to his suggestions; and as his sole object was the good of his country, he should not be fastidious on the score of the instruments by which that object, of which he should never relinquish the pursuit, was obtained. With respect to the Local Militia, he should not at that time make any observation; but on the subject of the Waggon Train, he feared

" that the Committee were not aware of
 " the enormous expence attendant on that
 " unprofitable and useless establishment.—
 " He had not yet been able to obtain the
 " papers relating to that branch of service,
 " for which he had moved some time ago;
 " otherwise he should at that moment have
 " been able to prove to the committee
 " that the estimate now before them, of
 " the probable expenditure of the waggon
 " train, fell greatly short, nay that it pro-
 " ved but a small portion of the real ex-
 " penditure of that branch of service; but
 " as the inutility of this wasteful corps ap-
 " peared to be admitted by all sides, he
 " trusted that the public would very
 " speedily have to congratulate them-
 " selves on its entire abolition. *The com-
 " mands with which foreign Generals had been
 " entrusted in this country, and particularly in
 " the county of Essex, he could not but deem
 " highly reprehensible—such was not for-
 " merly the usage in this country; and he
 " verily believed, that even but a very
 " few years ago no minister could have
 " been found so daring, as to have appear-
 " ed in that House after having sanctioned
 " a measure so repugnant to the feelings
 " of Britons, and to the general spirit of
 " the constitution. The introduction of
 " foreign troops into this country, on the
 " permanent footing which they seemed to
 " have acquired, was a novel measure,
 " evidently arising out of an unconstitu-
 " tional principle. The expenditure of
 " the country had now arrived at that
 " point, when it became necessary to ex-
 " mine every channel of expence, how-
 " ever minute; for it would not serve as
 " an answer to say, that this object was
 " trifling—that was inconsiderable—the
 " aggregate of minute waste would, he
 " was certain, be found to swell into a pro-
 " digious bulk. There was, however, one
 " article of expenditure, to which the im-
 " putation of minuteness could not be ap-
 " plied—he meant the *army clothing*, in the
 " supply of which, it was absolutely ne-
 " cessary that some reform, and that too,
 " without delay, should take place. In
 " the last year, government had given an
 " advance of 5s. 6d. on every suit made by
 " private contract more than what was paid
 " where the contract was open to public
 " competition!—and he was certain that
 " Mr. Courtenay's supply would be found
 " to have been as good, at least, as that
 " of Mr. Pearce. Why was the public
 " to pay 75,000*l.* more than was neces-
 " sary, and more than the amount for*

" which the supply could be furnished?
 " That was the fact, and he pledged him-
 " self to prove it! (*Hear, hear!*) If the
 " supply of accoutrements and that of ca-
 " valry appointments were brought to
 " open contract, he had not the smallest
 " doubt that a saving would accrue at
 " which the country would be astonished.
 " He was fully prepared on this subject to
 " give ample proof in support of his asser-
 " tion, and would certainly bring forward
 " the subject, unless his majesty's ministers
 " would render that unnecessary, by them-
 " selves undertaking the investigation of
 " a subject of expenditure so highly im-
 " portant. He had some time ago press-
 " ed on the House the subject of the price
 " of *great coats*, with which the army was
 " supplied—at that time the supply was at
 " the rate of 16s. 6d. per coat.—Ministers
 " had in that instance listened to his sug-
 " gestion, and the *contract was thrown open*.
 " What had been the consequence? coats
 " of fully equal, nay, even superior qua-
 " lity, as he should afterwards shew, had
 " subsequently been delivered to the
 " army at only 9s. per coat, a reduction of
 " between 50 and 60 per cent. (*Hear,
 " hear!*) This was a *fact*, beyond the
 " power of dispute, and sorry he was, that
 " in stating that reduction, he could not
 " there stop—but there was yet remain-
 " ing what, although he would not directly
 " term it a job, something so very extra-
 " ordinary, that he would not pass it over
 " in silence. For those very coats which
 " could now be afforded at the sum of nine
 " shillings, there was charged for the pro-
 " cess by which they are supposed to be
 " rendered *water proof*—how much?—why
 " no less than *half a crown*, almost one-
 " third of the original cost, when it is no-
 " torious that the process can be as com-
 " pletely effected for *sixpence!* (*Hear,
 " hear!*) He had said that the coats thus
 " supplied at 9s. were superior to those for
 " which 16s. 6d. had been formerly paid,
 " in proof of which, he need only state
 " that the coats at 16s. 6d. had neither
 " linings nor pockets, while those at 9s.
 " have both, and are four inches longer!
 " (*Hear, hear!*) It might be thought by
 " some Gentlemen that he had dwelt with
 " too much minuteness on this subject—
 " he had been minute—he had, at the
 " same time, been minutely accurate, and
 " his object was to impress on the minds
 " of the Committee the imperious ne-
 " cessity of military retrenchment in ge-
 " neral—for he could assure them that

“when they come to examine other articles of military expenditure, with equal minuteness, they would find the contract for great coats an example, and that not an exaggerated one, of our general military expenditure—the same principle of expenditure obtained throughout the system, and the same system of retrenchment would be found correctly to apply to that important branch of national expenditure. (*Hear, hear!*) In the estimate of the expenditure in the office of the Secretary at War, he observed an excess of 10,872*l.* The Noble Lord had told them that there had been no change in the War Office, but that different persons had been selected to accelerate the completion of the complicated accounts of that office. Now those very persons had been at work for years, and notwithstanding that, the accounts were yet in the utmost confusion—nothing had been done towards reducing them to order; and yet, in 1808, there were 113 efficient clerks in the War Office! Mismanagement there certainly must be somewhere, and he verily believed that not one-fifth of the regimental accounts were got through in any one year. He was extremely sorry to see also from the estimates, that the numbers of the Foreign Corps in our service increase; this was a principle and a practice which he should ever oppose. No less a sum than 30,000*l.* appeared on the face of the Estimates, for recruiting the Foreign Corps: That such a sum should be required for such a purpose, excited alike his sorrow and his indignation! but we could not now go into *Spain and recruit from Dupont's army*. No fewer than 800 of Dupont's army, who had been made prisoners, were taken out of *Spanish jails*, and incorporated into foreign corps in our service; these were some of the recruits with which our foreign corps were supplied. He had a very strong desire to know whether the *Duke of Brunswick's corps*, that has so recently been taken into our pay, had received any thing like bounty or recruiting money—such was the rumour, which if true, was truly extraordinary—and he begged leave to put it to the Noble Lord whether such was the fact. If it were so, he should think it a very sufficient reason for putting an end at once to this species of recruiting. There

“was another item in the estimate, which to him appeared not less extraordinary; but, perhaps, it was susceptible of explanation—as last year the estimate of the *foreign depôt* was 15,000*l.*; in this year it was 20,000*l.* an excess of 5,000*l.*; while the whole expence of the British depot, including the cavalry, was estimated at only 13,000*l.*!— [*Here several of the members became impatient for the question.*] Gentlemen might call out Question! Question! but that would only protract the debate, for he was determined to do his duty. On the head of Barracks in Ireland, there was a grant of 135,500*l.* for the erection of new Barracks.—Would the Committee without document or information grant such a sum? He had on a former occasion stated, that there were already several very excellent Barracks in Ireland unoccupied, and yet 135,500*l.* was asked for building more Barracks! (*hear, hear!*) and this too, at the very time, when the right honourable gentleman, (Mr. Rose) in his pamphlet, having just discovered that this barrack system is so expensive—acknowledges himself to have been deceived in it!—(*Hear, hear, hear!*)—He trusted, however, that the Committee would not consent to throw away the public money in this manner.—There was but one more point on which he should trouble the Committee.—The different regiments were all calculated at their full establishments; but on what ground did they vote away the public money? Was it possible that the whole of the money demanded could be wanted? Not one-third of it. The second battalions of many regiments were composed of boys, the pay to whom was nine-pence; and yet these estimates, on which they were called upon to vote away the public money, made no distinction, but classed them all as men at a shilling. He anxiously trusted that the Committee would pause; that they would make a stand ere they thus lavishly voted away sums, in his opinion, so greatly exceeding the necessity of the service. It was his intention to have moved, that the Estimates be referred to a Select Committee; in that he should not, however, persevere; but he would maintain, that were a minute examination of the sums actually required for the service of the year to be instituted, the Estimate before the Committee would have been

reduced at least two, or perhaps three millions. He trusted that after what he had stated, something decisive would be attempted by his majesty's ministers on the different objects of retrenchment which he had pointed out; but if, unhappily he should be disappointed in that hope and expectation, he should certainly feel it his duty to bring forward so important a subject by some specific motion." — Upon the subject of the *German Troops*, the Honourable House, or some part of it, at least, did, it seems, grow somewhat impatient; but, Mr. WARDLE laudably persevered in uttering what he had to say. — The bounty to the Duke of Brunswick's people is a very curious thing indeed. LORD PALMERSTON confessed, that they did receive a bounty of four guineas a man, but said that 3*l.* 17*s.* of it was to be laid out upon necessities. I care not how it has been expended. All I wanted to know, and all I want the people of England to know, is that *four guineas a man*, besides all the enormous expences which must have attended their bringing over, is to be paid to these Germans, or has been paid to them, out of the taxes raised upon this nation! — Let it be well observed, too, that, while we are dismounting *English* horse and reducing other *English* corps, so far from there being any reduction in the *German* Legion or any of its parts, that part of the army has been augmented. — Why, if reduction could be made at all, was it not made amongst these Germans? Why were they to remain untouched? Why not dismount some of these Germans? I should be very glad to know the reason of this? Mr. Huskisson tells us, that *we may reduce part of our army*. Well, then, shall we not begin with these Germans? At any rate, shall we augment them, while we are reducing our native troops? If this does not set people to thinking a little, it may be fairly presumed, I think, that they are past the time for thought! — Look, reader, at Mr. Wardle's statement, about the recruiting establishments. There you see, that the recruiting establishment for the *Foreign Troops* costs one fourth more than the recruiting establishment for the whole *British Army*. Will not this open men's eyes? — The fact, stated by Mr. Wardle, respecting the enlisting of men, out of Spanish jails, who were taken in DUPONT's army, is eminently worthy of public attention. These are now, I suppose, amongst the *defenders of England*! What we may

come to, at last, it is quite impossible even to guess at. — There are, however, persons, who seem very well satisfied with this state of things; or, at least so it would appear from the Speech said to have been made upon this occasion by LORD MAHON. I take it from the *Morning Chronicle* of the 27th of February. — "Lord Mahon contended that no *practical* grievance accrued from the employment of *foreign troops*. It was a *theoretic complaint*, and calculated to produce as much delusion as another question, upon which much clamour was excited — he meant *Parliamentary Reform*. Much was said about *good old times*, and of our *ancestors*; but when such appeals were made for such purposes, he was almost inclined to wish that we had no *ancestors at all*." This is precisely the language, held by Mr. Windham last session, upon the subject of *selling and buying seats in parliament*, which he said was no *practical* grievance, and the complaint against which was merely *theoretical*. But, the worst of it is, that, while we are answered in this manner, while we are told, that these old notions are mere theories, and are not expected to be of any *practical* utility, those who tell us so call us *innovators*; and, if we want any old inveterate abuse removed, they tell us that it is better to let the wound remain than to risk the existence of the whole carcase. When, for instance, we say, that it is a shame, that such an office as *Teller of the Exchequer* should exist, now that the use of it is totally done away, they say, "no, no; it is dangerous to meddle with *ancient* things, with things long-established, and having about them the venerable marks of the lore of our *ancestors*;" and, however much my lord MAHON may wish to get rid of the memory of our ancestors, I much question if he be so eager to get rid of his office of SURVEYOR OF GREEN WAX, or his other office of KEEPER OF RECORDS IN BIRMINGHAM TOWER, which offices were created by our ancestors, and for which offices he now pockets out of the taxes raised upon the people, SIX HUNDRED AND NINETY ONE POUNDS A YEAR. Surely, he will say, that those were indeed and indeed "*good old times*," when these nice convenient offices were created? — For the present I shall leave the *Surveyor of Green Wax* to side with the *Clerk of the Irons* and the *Teller of the Exchequer*; but, I shall return to the subject very soon, and, I have but little doubt of being able

to show, that the Surveyor has trodden upon very slippery ground.—It would be wrong to dismiss this article, without cautioning the reader to beware of any delusive hope of a retrenchment in the public expenditure. He should never believe in any thing of the sort, till he *knows* that some *tax is taken off*. What a folly would it be in any man to suppose, that he had reduced the expences of his family, *if he were still called on for the usual sum of money to defray those expences?* What is it to any man, whether his servants waste his means by sacking them themselves or by giving them to others? So that his means are taken from him to be given to others, what matters it in what way they go?—When we see a *tax taken off*, then let us believe, that the national expences are about to be reduced; but not one moment before.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.—To MR. PERRY, proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, the whole account of whose Trial, with the names of the JURORS, will be found below, the public owe infinite obligation. His Defence, as will be seen, discovered very great ability; but, what I am most pleased with, next after the righteous verdict, is, that Mr. Perry took the Defence upon *himself*, and thereby insured justice to his cause.—I see, that the report of the Trial is to be published in a pamphlet; and I trust it will be universally read.

W^M. COBBETT.

Botley, 1st March, 1810.

* * I wish to state, in reference to the Note at page 275 of this volume, that Mr. Knight's offer to proceed to Walcheren was made on the 28th of August, the day after Sir Lucas Pepys, (the person whom he thought the fittest for the service,) had declined; and that the notification to Mr. Knight, that another person was appointed for the service, was not dated till the 30th.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, FEB. 24.

Before Lord Ellenborough and a Special Jury.

LIBEL.

THE KING V. LAMBERT AND ANOTHER.

The following were the names of the Jury sworn:—

William Lewis, Esq.	Henry Woodgate, Esq.
Charles Jones, Esq.	
James Heath, Esq.	Talesmen.
Thomas Jeffries, Esq.	Mr. John Horsman.
Thomas Wright, Esq.	Mr. John Brown.
George Parkinson, Esq.	Mr. Thomas Swift.
John Irwin, Esq.	Mr. Isaac Ayres.

Mr. RICHARDSON opened the pleadings in this case, which was an Information for a Libel on the person of his Majesty.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL followed on the same side. He had felt it his duty to file an Information in this case against Mr. Lambert, the Printer and Publisher, and Mr. Perry, the Proprietor, of *The Morning Chronicle*, for a Paragraph which appeared in that Paper, published on the 2d of October last, containing a Libel against the person of his Majesty. As it was not unusual to treat all efforts to check publications of this kind as unjust attempts to break in upon the Liberty of the Press, he begged leave to say a few words on this point. A free, full, and open discussion of every measure connected with the public affairs of the country, and into the conduct and measures of Government, he was far from refusing to the conductors of the public prints. An attempt to controul the free exercise of this right, he should admit, would be improper and unjust. On that liberty some of our best privileges depended. It had been instrumental, in former days, in establishing and securing our free constitution; and it might, when properly directed, be the means of preserving to us the same invaluable blessing in time to come. It was not for any discussion of, or animadversions upon the measures of Government, that the present Information was brought. He admitted that a free discussion of such subjects, and generally of all fair subjects, should be allowed; and even though, in the exercise of this right, a person should allow himself to be carried beyond the bounds of discretion, he should be backward to bring such a case under the cognizance of a Jury. Those who knew his practice would do him the justice to say, that he never took advantage of any case of this kind, where it could be supposed to have proceeded only from indiscretion or inadvertency. But, as on the one hand, there should be a full and free discussion of every public measure, if conducted with decency, and confined within proper bounds; so, on the other, it was necessary that decorum should not be entirely violated, that due regard for the relations between the Sovereign and his people should be observed; and, above all things, it was essential that it should not be in the power of any man to tell the public that there were blessings which they might enjoy, but which were withheld from them by their Sovereign, and to the possession of which they could not look

forward till the accession of the successor of him who now held the Throne. No body who saw such language held, could doubt that it must have a manifest tendency to alienate and destroy the affections of the people towards their Sovereign, and to break down that link of love which ought to connect the Sovereign and his people in the tenderest ties. That such was the tendency of the publication in question no person could read it and deny. The publication was extremely short, and the Jury could hardly miss the sense of it at a single reading. It was in these words—"What a crowd of blessings rush on one's mind that might be bestowed upon the country in the event of a total change of system...." So far the publication was political, and, therefore, though he could not agree with the Defendants in their idea of the benefits to be derived from a total change of system, he did not feel himself entitled, consistently with what he had already stated as to the right of free discussion on all political subjects, to quarrel with them for their opinions. It might be honestly their opinion that a total change of system would bestow a crowd of blessings on the country, though it was not his; and according to the just latitude of discussion which the Press ought to enjoy, he could not quarrel with them for this branch of the record. The Paper, however, then proceeded thus:—"of all the Monarchs, indeed, since the Revolution, the successor of George the Third will have the finest opportunity of becoming nobly popular." In other words—No prospect of the attainment of these blessings which thus rush on one's mind, opens to us during the reign of our present Sovereign; they can only be looked for on the accession of his successor to the Throne; his present Majesty and his life are the barriers which stand between his people and the attainment of the blessings alluded to. Thus fixing the era for the enjoyment of these blessings to be the death of his present Majesty. The Attorney-General said he had consumed more words than were necessary on this occasion. It was impossible to read the publication, and not declare it to be a Libel.

Mr. GARROW then rose, on the part of the Prosecution, to prove the printing and publishing of the paper in question.

Mr. PERRY, one of the Defendants, addressed the Court, and begged leave to say, that if it was the intention of the Learned Counsel to prove the publication,

he would, with his Lordship's permission, save the valuable time of the Court. As it had ever been the rule of the Defendants to hold out an unequivocal responsibility for the conduct of the Paper, he desired to be understood, to admit, that Mr. John Lambert was the Printer of *The Morning Chronicle*, and that he himself was the proprietor.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, that it was perfectly allowable for Mr. PERRY to make this admission for himself; but was he also empowered to make it for the other Defendant?

Mr. PERRY said, that the other Defendant stood at his side.

Mr. LAMBERT begged leave to declare, that he admitted the fact charged in the record, that he was the Printer of *The Morning Chronicle*.

Mr. ATTORNEY-GENERAL then desired that the Paragraph in *The Morning Chronicle*, of the 2nd October last, as set forth in the record, might be read. It was read, and is as follows:—

"What a crowd of blessings rush upon
"one's mind, that might be bestowed
"upon the country, in the event of a
"total change of system! Of all Monarchs, indeed, since the Revolution,
"the Successor of George the Third
"will have the finest opportunity of
"becoming nobly popular."

Here Mr. ATTORNEY-GENERAL said he closed his case.

Mr. PERRY then stated, that there were some other passages in the same paper bearing upon the record, and tending to explain the meaning of the Defendants in its publication, that he presumed he had a right to have read either now or in the course of his Defence. And he respectfully applied to the Court to know whether he were so entitled.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, that undoubtedly if there were any other parts of the same paper upon the same topic, and appertaining to it, the Defendants had a right to their being read; but certainly he could not admit that passages and paragraphs totally foreign to the subject of the record should be read, or could be in any way made applicable to their Defence. If there were passages of the same paper, clearly and manifestly tending to shew the intention and mind of the Defendants as to this specific paragraph, Mr. Perry had a right to have them read either now or in the course of his Defence, as he might think the one course or the other most advantageous to his argument.

Mr. PERRY respectfully thanked the Court, and said he would take occasion to refer to the passages in the course of what he should have to offer in justification of his friend Mr. Lambert and himself.

DEFENCE.

Mr. PERRY then addressed the Jury, as nearly as he can himself recollect, to the following purport :

My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury,

In presenting myself personally to you this day, I am moved by various considerations; some of them growing out of the nature of the cause itself, and peculiar to it; some of them of a more general nature, but bearing with a heavy weight on my own feelings. I am sure that if I could faithfully describe the motives of both kinds that press upon me to this unusual course, they would be duly appreciated by the Noble and Learned Lord on the Bench, and by yourselves. By the very nature of this cause, and by the line of argument and inference which I anticipated in my own mind that his Majesty's Attorney-General would take, I felt a degree of delicacy and embarrassment in requesting the assistance of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman who holds a retainer for me, and who by his place within the bar of this Court, would have had the conduct of our Defence. I am confident that in the just and manly spirit of the British bar, the Learned Gentleman would have flung aside every feeling but that of his professional duty—and I am sure, also, that in the estimation of every fair and honourable mind he would have been able to exert the full vigour of his splendid talents, with a perfect and consistent regard to the discharge of his political duties.

Of this truth, that no personal considerations are ever suffered to interfere with the professional exertions of the Learned Gentlemen of this bar, I am in the sincerity of my heart convinced, and I have always admired the just eulogium that was passed upon them by a great and illustrious Lawyer who was once their ornament, and is still, thank God, their model—I mean Lord Erskine, who, when Mr. Stockdale, a perfect stranger, and a person adverse in political opinions, applied to him for his assistance in a cause in which he had given offence to Mr. Erskine's own political friends, the eloquent advocate expressed himself in the following words :

“A trust apparently so delicate and

“singular, vanity is but too apt to whisper
“an application of to some fancied merit
“of one's own; but it is proper for the
“honour of the English Bar that the
“world should know such things happen
“to all of us daily and of course.

“Happy, indeed, is it for this country,
“that whatever interested divisions may
“characterise other places, of which I
“may have occasion to speak to-day, how-
“ever the councils of the highest depart-
“ments of the State may be occasionally
“distracted by personal considerations,
“they never enter these walls to disturb
“the administration of justice : whatever
“may be our public principles, or the
“private habits of our lives, they never
“cast even a shade across the path of our
“professional duties.

“If this be the characteristic even of
“the bar of an English Court of Justice,
“what sacred impartiality may not every
“man expect from its Jurors and its
“Bench.”

Such was the just and noble eulogium of that distinguished orator, who was in himself a shining example of the impartiality he ascribed to all. I subscribe to every word of it; and it does not belong to the learned profession only, but is to be found in the heart and practice of every one of the liberal professions of England. I may be permitted to state a most honourable instance of the same feeling which I had from the lips of an immortal hero, who by the most affectionate testimonies of his regard down almost to the last hour of his glorious life, did me the honour to call me his friend. When Lord Nelson received from the first Lord of the Admiralty, the last commission “to conquer, burn, sink, and destroy, the fleets of our enemy,” which he executed to the letter, the book of the captains of the British fleet was put into his hands by the Board to chuse his officers. It was a proper deference on their parts. It was nobly answered upon his. He returned the book unopened, and told them to chuse whom they pleased; for, “though there might be distinctions as to experience and endowments, as in the order of Providence we were not all made alike; yet in point of gallantry, of promptitude, of zeal, and of self-devotion, there was not a captain of the British fleet with whom he would not cheerfully sail, and in whom he would not safely confide, not only his own honour, but the glory of his Sovereign, and the security of the State.”

[345]

If, therefore, Gentlemen of the Jury, I had thought myself justified in a cause in which the record charges the other Defendant and myself with an attempt to bring the sacred person of the King into disrepute, to apply to my Counsel in the particular situation in which he stands (Mr. Jekyll, Solicitor-General to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales) I am confident that the Learned Gentleman, and my other most able and esteemed Counsel (Mr. Raine) would have arduously, honestly, and much more successfully than, I fear, I shall be able to do for myself, have defended Mr. Lambert and me this day. But I felt that I could not with propriety make the application; and neither the rules of this Court, nor the rules of honour, that have always actuated my conduct, would permit me to overlook my engagement; and the respect which I bear for the honour, the talents, and the integrity of this bar, will ever prevent me from going to other Courts to look for assistance here.

But, Gentlemen, I should not have ventured to present myself to your attention if there had been any thing in the cause of an intricate or of a complicated nature—if there had been any inuendoes to be disputed—any special pleading to be encountered—any question of law to be argued—any witnesses to be cross-questioned—or, indeed, any thing but a plain, naked, simple proposition, which it is only necessary for me to shew you, was innocently published. I am not come here with the impertinent design of attempting to make a speech, in which I should only succeed in displaying my presumption and my folly—in which I should only more surely incur, because I should more richly deserve, the ridicule to which the man who pleads his own cause is always subject—and which, I assure you, I have myself suffered in no ordinary degree, even in the streets, from my friends, and from strangers, since my determination was known; and which in some instances would have affected my spirits, if any thing could have shaken the steady purpose of my mind, when supported by the conscious rectitude of my heart. But there is nothing, Gentlemen, that I mean to try so little as to captivate your understandings by the affectation of eloquence, that would, even if I had the gift or the practice of speaking, be out of place; since nothing can be more unseemly than for a person in my situation to usurp a province to which he

does not belong; for after all, man is like a plant, which when transplanted into a soil foreign to its habits, will feel the change, will shrink into itself, will droop, will bend its head, until the mildness of the climate, and the cheering influence of the sun shall revivify and freshen whatever native vigour it may possess.

And, Gentlemen, even with all the simplicity of the cause, and with the simplicity which it is my resolution to observe in treating it, I should not have come here if it had been of any kind or quality but what it is. If it had been a pretended libel on an individual, of which I trust I am also incapable, but which in an hour of negligence, or by accident, (for it could happen by no other means), had gained admittance, we should have suffered judgment to go by default; for we shall be ever as ready to acknowledge a fault as we are careful to avoid one. If it had been an attack only on the King's Ministers, which I often assume the right to make, I should with confidence, and so would my inseparable co-adjutor and friend Mr. Lambert, have left our vindication to the Learned Gentlemen who would have done us the honour to exert themselves in our protection; but when it is charged on the record, that we had "unlawfully, wickedly and maliciously" "devised and intended to bring his Majesty's sacred person into great and "public hatred and contempt;" we feel that nothing can deliver us from the horror of such a charge but by exposing ourselves fairly to you, in the face of our country, that you may observe, examine and try us with all the intelligence, all the acuteness, and all the authority that belong to you in this public tribunal.—Oh that you had the power of God, as you have the power of the country, to look into our breasts, and to search our hearts, to see whether there lurks in any part of the bosom of either, any dark, malignant, traitorous feeling, that would dispose us to use, if we could with safety, the powerful instrument in our hands to bring even into disrepute the sacred name of the Sovereign, under whose beneficent reign I have myself lived during the whole period of my conscious existence! This divine power of truly searching the heart is not given to man; but it is something on our part to expose ourselves, nakedly and alone, without guile, without aid, without Counsel, to the critical observations and scrutiny, which twelve discerning men,

Freeholders of the County in which we live, interested in preserving the blessings we enjoy, skilful and experienced in the characters of their fellow-citizens, may feel it to be their duty, and may be able by their intelligence and penetration to detect, if the crime alledged against us be covered under the most artful disguise. Gentlemen, you will have, under the direction of the Noble and Learned Judge on the bench, to exercise your faculties in discovering the mind and intention with which we published the words charged on the record—by the whole tenor of our lives—from the general sentiment and character of the Paper that we publish—and particularly from the contents of the Paper in which the solitary paragraph complained of appears, and which, if you should have occasion to quit that Box, you will receive, and will have an opportunity to read.

I am sure, that after having looked at the context which the Noble and Learned Lord has been so indulgent as to permit me to desire to be read in its proper place, you will be satisfied and convinced that the interpretation put upon it on the record, and still more in the speech of his Majesty's Attorney-General, is not the true sense, nor that which can be borne out by any fair, legitimate or sound deduction.

Let me state, Gentlemen of the Jury, the record and the sense put upon it by the honourable and learned Attorney-General.

It charges Mr. Lambert the Printer, and myself the Proprietor of *The Morning Chronicle*, as "being seditious, malicious, ill-disposed persons, greatly affected to our present Sovereign Lord, George the Third, and to his Administration of the Government of this Kingdom—And that we did, unlawfully, wickedly, and maliciously devising, designing and intending as much as in us lay, to bring our said Lord the King and his Administration of the Government of this Kingdom; and the persons employed by him in the Administration of the Government, into great and public hatred and contempt among all his liege subjects, and to alienate and withdraw from our said Lord the King, the cordial love and affection, true and due obedience, fidelity, and allegiance of his subjects, publish, &c." This is the offence charged, and the words set forth in the record are the means we used—all the means and nothing but the means, to

accomplish these tremendous purposes.

Short as the paragraph is, it is divided into two parts or propositions, and his Majesty's Attorney General has fairly, candidly, and ingenuously taken them separately; for the sake of distinction and accuracy.

He declares that he has been induced to lay this information *ex officio*, because the paragraph complained of, contains in his mind a direct attack upon his Majesty's person; and that this is a thing so contrary to the fair, just, and full liberty of the press, that with every respect for that sacred and inestimable privilege he could not, consistently with his duty, overlook this monstrous departure from it. Mr. Attorney General then proceeds to explain what he means by, and what he conceives to be the free and genuine liberty of the English press. He declares it to be the right of free discussion in print—the right of free, fair, and full inquiry into the administration of public affairs—into the conduct of public men in the administration of public affairs—and generally and freely into the written and printed discussion of all matters, topics, and things connected with and contributory to the state and happiness of man in society—provided always that such discussion shall be kept within the bounds of temperance and morality; and he solemnly and honourably declares, which I firmly believe, that he would oppose any endeavours that should be made to controul it, for to that liberty and to the noble exercise of it we are indebted for every blessing that our forefathers obtained, and for the preservation of these blessings to the present day.

Gentlemen, I subscribe to the definition of his Majesty's Attorney General. I accept of it as of all that I desire—In my own name and in that of all the Journalists of England, I accept of and recognize the boundaries which he has stated for the liberty of the press. It is a scope sufficient for every good purpose of legitimate freedom—sufficient to admit of a vigilant and unequivocal censure of mal-administration, and of incapable, indolent, misguided or corrupt Ministers; to exercise a free spirit of inquiry on every subject of religion, science, and morals, that can interest a people living under a Constitution of freedom, and desirous of perpetuating the blessings they enjoy. Oh! that the same freedom of the press were extended to every part and portion of the inhabited globe! We should

then hear no more of a people sitting supine while their Government is attacked—of ancient Monarchies being overthrown, or of new tyrannies being triumphant!

The Learned Gentleman handsomely and properly follows up this definition by an acknowledgement which saves me this day some trouble, and saves the Court and you some time, for he at once admits that the first branch of the text which forms a part of the record, is within the scope of the liberty which he thinks legitimate. I thank him for the fair and candid concession. It is worthy of the high and distinguished situation which he holds: and becoming an honourable and constitutional lawyer. He fairly admits that to say "a crowd of blessings might flow from a total change of system" is fair, because, though it is not his opinion, it may be honestly mine. And if upon an examination and review of the measures of the King's Ministers, or of any department of his Administration, a writer shall see cause for animadversion and censure, he thinks it within the fair and just precincts of freedom that he should publish his thoughts. He, therefore, does not ascribe to this branch of the sentence the epithets that are upon the record. He does not certainly think of his Majesty's Ministers as it appears that I think of them, but he gives me credit for a fair difference of opinion, and for honestly thinking what I have openly said. How the Learned Gentleman, with the conviction on his mind, of the innocence of this branch of the sentence, could yet put it on the record, and apply to it all the severe epithets of charge that stand against us, it is for him to explain. It is not possible for me to divine the cause, unless the Learned Gentleman should think this branch of the sentence, necessary to introduce the second, as tending to its explanation.

But, Gentlemen, I thank him for exempting me from the necessity of shewing you what I meant by a change of system. It would have become me to have shewn you, who are loyal subjects of your Sovereign, that by a change of system I did not mean a change in the frame of our Constitution or of our Government—God forbid—and even the most suspected part of the sentence would protect me from that charge, because it speaks of the regular descent of the Monarchy to a legitimate successor; but I am relieved at once and for ever from all anxiety, and from all doubt upon this point;

and I should be in a most perilous situation indeed, if it were otherways, for instead of my being able to adduce the uniform tenor and practice of my life, to justify me from the imputation cast upon me for the last branch of the sentence, my whole life would be an almost uninterrupted series of transgressions under the first.

For, Gentlemen of the Jury, I do differ with the Honourable and Learned Gentleman as to the character of the Administration, and as often and as long, as I have seen the Administration of his Majesty's affairs in such hands, and so conducted, I have felt it my duty to say, that a total change of system would bestow a crowd of blessings on his Majesty and on his People. It has been my creed—it has been my invariable object, to state and to instil it into the minds of my fellow-subjects; and happy would it have been for us all, if I had been as successful as I have been industrious! For, Gentlemen, I have done it daily—three hundred and thirteen times a year—for three and thirty years of my life have I proclaimed, that a total change of system would bestow a crowd of blessings on the country. It was clearly and perfectly known what I meant by a change of system—that I meant a change of measures, together, undoubtedly, with a change of men, as a security to the country for a change of measures—and that the phrase meant no more, than to impress upon the public mind this great, undeniable Whig doctrine, that the true magnificence, solidity and power of the British Throne required that the free choice of the King in the appointment of his Government should be strengthened by the opinion and confidence of his people. Now, in the whole of the eventful period of my political life (into which there have been crowded more vicissitudes of human fortune—more awful admonitions to Princes—and more important lessons to mankind, than ever were known in any other portion of time), there never was one when the truth of the above maxim could be proclaimed with a more seasonable, a more lively, or a more urgent interest, than on Monday, the 2d day of October last, the day laid in the record for the offence.

But the Learned Gentleman says, most generously, that he does not quarrel with me as to my opinion of his Majesty's present Ministers, and as to my wish for a change of system—nor as to my idea of the blessings that would flow from it. It

may be my opinion, though it is not his—but that which he complains of is the time that I hold out to the country as the only period when they may hope to enjoy the blessings that would flow from such a change—and he says that I mean to insinuate that no such hope can be entertained during the life of his present Majesty—but that I proceed to state it may be expected from the Successor of George the Third. Having conjured up this phantom of an insinuation, he very properly dresses it in the garb of terror to allright your loyalty, and to impress upon your minds the most horrible images of civil discord—of the links of love that bind the Sovereign to the people and the people to the Sovereign being broken—and that the country is to be condemned to anarchy, because the King's life is set up between them and their hopes of happiness! All this is dreadful—but where does the Learned Gentleman find all this? Not in the record, for there is not an *inuendo* to that effect. It is really hard upon Mr. Lambert and myself that the Attorney General should acquit us of what he finds upon his own record, and then charge us with an insinuation that is not to be found there. Whence does he draw the inference that he now puts upon the phrase? Not from the simple words, for they contain no such meaning—and not from the context, as I shall have the honour to shew you when I call your attention to the passages in the same paper, which the Noble and Learned Lord permits me to call for and put in as part of my Defence.

But first, Gentlemen, give me leave to call back your recollection to the period of time, and to the very curious and interesting circumstances at the time of this publication. Gentlemen, it was immediately after the failure of our most notable and most calamitous Expedition to Walcheren, when almost every family in this kingdom were covered with sorrow at the woeful certainty of the loss of a husband, a son, a brother, or a friend, or with the still more agonizing apprehensions of the loss which they dreaded every post would bring them—Not losses from the fate of battle, where death even to those that are nearest in blood to the sufferer, brings with it the consolation of the glory that shines over the grave, but losses from the most cruel neglect of the means

by which they might have been avoided. It was when the cabals and distractions of the King's Cabinet had broken out, after private treachery, into the scandal of public duelling—It was on the total disorganization of the King's Government when, humbled and mortified into a just but temporary sense of their own incapacity, they had made a proposition to two great and illustrious Statesmen to support their tottering fabric. Gentlemen, this paragraph made its appearance on the very day when the first faithful narrative of that overture to a negociation was communicated to the public through the medium of the Morning Chronicle.

It fortunately happens to my friend and me, that there will be found in the columns of the same identical paper, ample proof of the mind and intention with which the paragraph on the record was inserted—for, you will please to observe, that we are not charged with the writing of it. That is no part of the imputation, for, in point of fact, it was a paragraph copied from another journal, which is the uniform practice of all Editors, when they see anything that coincides with, or serves to corroborate their own sentiments, or that puts an idea in a new light. We are not striving to shelter ourselves from our direct responsibility for every part of the paper, written or copied, by this statement, but to account to you for a distinction which you may observe in the manner in which the passages that I shall refer you to, and this paragraph, are presented to the public eye. It is no more than a distinction which belongs to the mechanic part of the composition of a newspaper. That which is our own, or that which is new—that which is important, or that which is peculiar to ourselves, we display in space, or in a different character from that which is borrowed, and that which may be in every other paper as well as our own. With this distinction, Gentlemen, you will view the whole paper—and you will see whether the passages, to which I shall point your attention, which precede this in point of place, though separated from it—are not *bona fide* connected with it in sense, though disjoined in situation; and whether they will not lead your judgment to form a true estimate of the mind and intention with which we admitted this tailpiece to the narrative.

(*To be continued.*)